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Femicide and child marriages in Turkey

Abstract: In Turkey, each day women killed because of the domestic violence and also families forced their children to marry before 18s. The legal age of marriage is 18, but also children can marry at the age of 17 and 16 with the permission of family and courts. (Unicef Türkiye). In addition, in Turkey both femicide and early child marriages are connected to each other. Both of them are results of the social biases, which are prejudices, stereotype, and the gender discrimination or the gender inequality. Because of the illiteracy, economic difficulties, education system, and political or government policies, Turkey fights with gender discrimination and early child marriages. The purpose of the study is to analyse the femicide and child marriage cases in Turkey by using the statistical sources to show that femicide and child marriages are one of the big problems of Turkey. The tasks of the study are to finish with the reasons of femicide and child marriages, and offer some solutions to those problems.

Keywords: femicide, child, marriages, Turkey, biases, stereotypes, prejudices, education.



Introduction

Nature-nurture debate is based on political and academic discourses, and it does not have relation with man-made discourses, social-cultural ideologies (Burr, 2002:31). Because of this debate, unfortunately, in this developed century, sex or sexuality is one of the big problems around the world. Still, most of the government policies, academicians, books, articles, and etc. discuss the differences between men and women and relate it with the idea of nature-nurture debate. Even, they talk about the gender discrimination and early child marriages. Both of those problems are the results of the ideological ideas of society, in short, the constructed ideas of people. According to Ann Oakley (1972) sex as a word denotes the biological differences such as male and female, but on the other side gender is related with society such as masculine and feminine. Because of the cultural ideologies or gender inequalities, society and family's pressure early marriages especially among girls (Dağ et al., 2021:549).

In Turkey, each day women killed because of the domestic violence and also families forced their children to marry before 18s. The legal age of marriage is 18, but also children can marry at the age of 17 and 16 with the permission of family and courts. (Unicef Türkiye). In addition, in Turkey both femicide and early child marriages are connected to each other. Both of them are results of the social biases, which are prejudices, stereotype, and the gender discrimination or the

gender inequality. According to Unicef Türkiye “gender inequality that reinforces stereotypical roles for girls and curtails their education, compromises their health, and exposes them to the risk of violence and poverty.” Because of the illiteracy, economic difficulties, education system, and political or government policies Turkey fight with gender discrimination and early child marriages. Especially, the killing of women and girls’ marriages before 18s. Femicide is known as a kind of terror against female such as sexual, physical and verbal. At the end of this terrorism female are murdered by male that we call femicide (*Kouta et al., 2017:1*) In other words, femicide is a kind of “violence against women” (*Etherington et al., 2015:4*) and the causes of femicide are related with “gender inequality, gender expectations, and systemic gender-based discrimination.” (*Etherington et al., 2015:4*) Another reason of femicide is with the treating the “patriarchal order” (*Iranzo, 2015:1*) such as Turkey is controlled by patriarchal order.

Furthermore, femicide is associated with gender discrimination and at the end of the gender inequality women and girls killed by others. As Helgeson (2017) mentions sex and gender are different terms and sex refers biological categories, such as genes, chromosomes, and hormones. On the other side, gender refers to the social categories (*Helgeson, 2017:30*). In addition, as Helgeson mentions (2017) gender role is a term that based on “society’s influence on the biologically based categories of female and male” (*Helgeson, 2017:31*). It means that gender role is related with a set of norms and expectations of society (*Helgeson, 2017:30*). To rephrase it, gender roles define being male and female (*Helgeson, 2017:31*). Such as women are more emotional and men are strong than women (*Helgeson, 2017:31*). Because of the gender roles masculine and feminine have different features such as traits, behaviours, and interest, which are assigned by society.

The purpose of the study is to analyse the femicide and child marriage cases in Turkey by using the statistical sources to show that femicide and child marriages are one of the big problems of Turkey. The tasks of the study are to finish with the reasons of femicide and child marriages, and offer some solutions to those problems.

Literature Review

As Burr (1998) mentions “Gender is the social significance of sex” (*Burr, 1998:11*). It is the expectations of society for men and women that we call them masculinity and femininity (*Burr, 1998:11*). For example, according to Burr (1998) masculinity is the way of being a man and femininity is the way of being a woman that the expected behaviours and traits of society and culture (*Burr, 1998:146-156*) As Burr summaries (1998) masculinity and femininity are created by people who share the culture because of this they are not stable. They are changeable (*Burr, 1998:12-13*).

Moreover, gender differentiation, which is based on the contradiction of between male and female, and it does not have any relation with biology (*Burr, 1998*) Sex differentiation leads or supports the sex discrimination between male and female. Especially against women (*Burr, 1998:12*). It can be suggested that the reason of gender differences and gender discrimination is patriarchy, which is based on “rule by the father” (*Burr, 1998:14*). In other words, today the term refers “power inequalities between women and men” (*Burr, 2002:14*). From the different perspectives, according to Walby patriarchy is a kind of system and practices of culture that man

has power to control, harass and abuse women (*Walby, 1990:20*).

Furthermore, discrimination is “the consequence of prejudices and make them powerless.” (*Agciban & Gokce, 2018:258*), because the prejudices means one who has gender schematic. Gender Schematic is “about what to wear, how to behave, what career to pursue, what leisure interests to pursue, and what emotions to present to others” (Helgeson, 2012: 169) Thus, social biases which are discrimination, stereotype and prejudices are the reasons of femicide and child marriages.

Discrimination, Stereotype and Prejudges

Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, and Esses (2010) describe three forms of social bias, which are prejudice, stereotypes, and discriminations as:

- a) prejudice, an attitude reflecting an overall evaluation of a group;
- b) stereotypes, associations, and attributions of specific characteristics to a group;
- c) discrimination, biased behaviour toward, and treatment of, a group or its members (*Dovidio et al., 2010:5*).

In 1949, Secretary-General of the United Nations defined discrimination as unequal and adverse treatment leading to inequality between members of the privileged category and non-members, by denying the rights or social advantages of members of a particular social class, or by imposing special conditions on them; or by providing a variety of advantages to members of another category (*The main types and causes of discrimination, 1949*).

In other words, “discrimination is an unequal treatment based on the application of an illegitimate criterion” (*Fassin, 2002:403-423*). In addition, as Ceylan Matbassı mentions low-income individuals have higher discrimination than high-income individuals (*2019:15*).

From the different perspective, according to APA Whereas References:

- prejudices are unfavourable affective reactions to or evaluations of groups and their members,
- stereotypes are generalised beliefs about groups and their members,
- interpersonal discrimination is differential treatment by individuals toward some groups and their members relative to other groups and their members,
- institutional discrimination involves policies and contexts that create, enact, reify, and maintain inequality.

On the other hand, prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination are pointed different stigmatized groups which are defined by their age, language, gender, religion, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, and etc. (APA Whereas References) In short, gender discrimination is one of the big problems around the world and in Turkey as well. One of the results of gender inequalities or discrimination is Early Child Marriages.

Early Child Marriages

Early child marriages defined as any kind of formal or informal marriage between children before the age of 18 (*Unicef, 2021*). According to Tahera Ahmed (2015) child marriage common for girls, but concerns to both girls and boys (*Ahmed, 2015:8*). As Polat and Reva (2019) point out that child brides face with different risks such as problems in pregnancy and childbirth,

constricting HIV/AIDS and suffering domestic violence because, physically and emotionally are not ready to become wives and mothers. In addition, according to Polat and Reva (2019) the reasons of the child brides are connected with poverty, education, and economy (Polat, & Reva, 2019:339).

Turkey is one of the countries that face with child marriages especially after education reforms in 2012. The reason is that compulsory education is separated into three four-year periods, and they allow the home schooling. This home-schooling law may be increasing the child brides (Child Marriage in Turkey, 2014:3).

Unicef Turkey states that because of the low socio-economic position, girls in Turkey force to marry before 18 years old and fit themselves into the traditional gender roles. Also, as Unfpa Türkiye states in their report “1 out of every 3 women who got married before the age of 18 became a mother as a child” (I will fight early marriages with all my power, 2022). Accordingly, 19-year-old Helin is trying to save girls from the forced marriage (I will fight early marriages with all my power, 2022).

Another report, which is dated back 5 March 2021 indicates that children who married before 18 are mother and almost half of forced marriage women faced with physical violence. (I will fight early marriages with all my power, 2022) The statistic that took from 2008 till 2020, summarised by Zeynep Dierks (2022) and she mentioned that “child marriage in case of girls totalled around 13 thousand while in case boys the number was way lower, measuring at 726 cases. At the age group of 16 to 17 years old, 0.73 percent of girls and 0.03% of boys got married in 2020 in Turkey.” As the Duvar web page shows that in 2020, 13,740 children married and 95 percent of those marriages belonged to the girls (2021). The Turkish Statistical Institute (2022) 2021 results illustrate that under 18 age females married more than male.

Diagram 1 shows the first marriages under age of 18. Females (24.2%) married under age of 18 more than males (4.4%) and diagram 2 illustrate that percentages of arranged marriage without the opinion of male was 8.6 and female was 12.5.

Table 1 (Turkstat report) describes the range of the early marriages between male and female and the provinces. Between the years of 2011-2021 472,304 males had first marriage between 16-19 and female percentage was 462,317. It means that female had more first marriage than male.

Table 2 indicates that the maximum number of people who married between 16-19 and the name of the provinces in 2021. Between the ages of 16-19 Gaziantep was the first place who had first marriages with the number of 3,612, and Diyarbakır follows with the number of 1918. Those numbers belong to female marriages between 16-19 ages. On the other side, male numbers were 242 at Gaziantep and 229 at Diyarbakır.

According to the report of IMDAT (Violence Prevention and Rehabilitation Association) Turkey was the first country in Europe about the child marriages with the percentage of 2%. (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 2021). Also, the Cumhuriyet Newspaper mentions the Turkish Statistics Institute report and according to this report (2020) the total marriage number is 487,270 and the girl child marriage number was 13,014. The girl child marriage percentage was 2.7% and boy child marriage percentage was 0.1% (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 2021).

Moreover, NTV News (2021) remarks the ideas of Gökhan Yıldırım’s thematic analysis of 6 big research and says that it does not have any changes of child married in Turkey in last 10

years. Also, the NTV news point out that still 15 out of 100 children have forced early marriage. Even, 9 out of 10 children who married before 18 said that “they want to marry after 20 ([NTV News, 2021](#)).

Those statistics and results show that in Turkey most of the girl children married before 18 ages and because of this they faced to gender discrimination.

Femicide

Besides of child marriages, femicide is another big problem of Turkey. Still in this technological age women are not free and they are killed by men in Turkey.

According to the We Will Stop Femicide (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız) Platform in 2021, 280 women killed. The figure 1 shows the number of killed women according to the province.

Furthermore, the figure 1 displays the Online Monument Counter. He website displays the number (278) and the names of killed women because of the domestic violence.

According to the We Will Stop Femicide Platform (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu) in May 2022, 35 women killed by men and 16 women’s death found doubtful (2022). On the other hand, again the same platform indicates that in 2021 280 women killed by men and in the same year 217 women’s death found doubtful (2022).

Moreover, the recent report of Stockholm Center for Freedom reported the report of Duvar News and says that “a total of 25 women were murdered in Turkey in March, while 19 women died under suspicious circumstances” (2022).

Literacy Level of Turkey

Table 3 the literacy level of Turkey statistic presents that in 2019 with the 99.08 percentage males’ literacy level is higher than female.

On the other hand, UNESCO (Institute for Statistics) Turkey mentions the illiterate populations and literacy rate of Turkey.

Illiterate Population and Literacy Rate tables (7-8) show us the average of the families’ education level. Uneducated people who are 65 and older may allow forced marriage and as can be seen they are uneducated people.

On the other side, diagram 3 between the years 2020 and 2021 male and female have the close enrolment level of education. As diagram 4 presents the main difference between male and female, who completed at least one education level. In 2020 female percentage is 87.7 and male percentage is 98.1.

Table 6, TurkStat, National Education Statistics Database presents the peoples’ education level that based on sex from 2008 till 2021. The statistics illustrates that illiterate female population is 1,593,893 and male percentage was 268,639. In addition, without a diploma literate female percentage was 4 on 305,606 and male percentage was 3 on 2,246,969. On the other side TurkStat statistic has an interesting result between female and male about schools and educational institutions. For example, below the table summarises the differences between female and male about educational level. Also, as given in the table 6 males are more educated than female in 2021.

Employment Rate

From the different perspective employment rate is another important issue that effects gender discrimination and early child marriages. As shown in diagram 5 female unemployment rate are higher than male. On the other side, male employment rate is higher than female.

Discussion and Reasons of Child Marriages and Femicide

The Guardian Newspaper (*McKernan, 2020*) points out the government ideas about women that “women are not equal to men, and those without children are deficient” and “rather than physically attack women in public wearing shorts, they should verbally harass them instead” (2020) that is the general ideas of government policy.

Another way to say it, in Turkey is connected with the discourses of government policy that is “women and men could not be treated equally. It is against nature,” accusing feminists of “rejecting motherhood” (*Carion, 2021*).

The rejection of Istanbul Convention (*Interview..., 2022*) is another reason for femicide and the early child marriages. According to government policy the reason of the rejection of Istanbul Convention is against the Turkish family structure/patriarchal structure of Turkey. As they mention “Istanbul Convention ‘threatens family values’” (*Carion, 2021*).

Education and Literacy tables (9-10) show us the average of the families’ education level. Uneducated people who are 65 and older may allow forced marriage and as can be seen they are uneducated people.

According to Gül Akbal (2021) the reasons of femicide are gender, patriarchal structures, violence, fear and oppression, politics, and authoritarianism. The other is the economic situations of people, who force children to face early child marriage (*Unicef Türkiye*). Traditions and values are another reason of girl brides. They increase the poverty and lack of education can be seen in the analysis part.

COVID-19 pandemic is another reason of femicide, because women had to stay in the abusive situations. They did not have any chance to take help or go outside for help. Also, because of the pandemic women subject to online and offline abuse, harassment, backlash, and threats (Unwomen).

According to Burcu Karakaş (2019) “nationalist and Islamist discourse becomes more dominant and male violence is seen as legitimate, women are becoming easier targets for abuse and violence.” In other words, other reasons are listed by Caroline Warrick (2020) as:

- 1) gender-based and domestic homicides are often referred to as “honor killings”;
- 2) femicide in Turkey is on the rise;
- 3) legal framework has been laid to protect women;
- 4) female empowerment has led to women in Turkey achieving economic independence;
- 5) the Turkish government practically encourages gender-based violence.

Finally, as Daniel Bellut and Burcu Karakaş (2019) mention the ignorance of child marriages and femicide are one of the big problems of Turkey.

Conclusion

All the data that presented show the roles of the women the political and social reforms about women have effected by the dominant ideology of patriarchal family. the because of the

patriarchal family (Gökçe Demir et al., 2013:150). As Tuba Kabasakal (2018) mentions violence against women in Turkey is connected with the “culture, societal values and religion” discourses (Kabasakal, 2018:71). In short as mentioned before the femicide and early child marriages are consequences of the social biases, which are prejudices, stereotype, and the gender inequality. In addition, still in this Turkey fight with femicide and child marriages, because of the of the illiteracy, economic difficulties, education system, and political or government policies.

Furthermore, the analysis shows that early child marriages and femicide have close relation with the education level of people because “as educational status of people increased, the proportion of marriages with people's own decision increased and the proportion of arranged marriages decreased” (Turkstat, 2022). It means that uneducated has potentiality to support femicide and early child marriages.

So, as Cumhuriyet Newspaper (2021) Newspaper points out that in general society does not have enough knowledge and awareness about child marriage, and because of this they do not know where they can apply when they face with child marriage. (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 2021).

Consequently, as Ecevit mentions “Gender is not stable, it is fiction and changeable”. (Ecevit, 2021:11).

Solutions

Solutions of the femicide and child marriages could be listed as follow:

- Law Regulations,
- Changes of discourses and government policies,
- Education levels,
- To search and apply the world strategies and apply them,
- Literacy Levels,
- Improve the traditional and cultural values,
- To enhance awareness levels.



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Appendix

Diagram 1. Age at first marriage by sex, 2021 (*Türkiye Family Structure Survey..., 2022*)

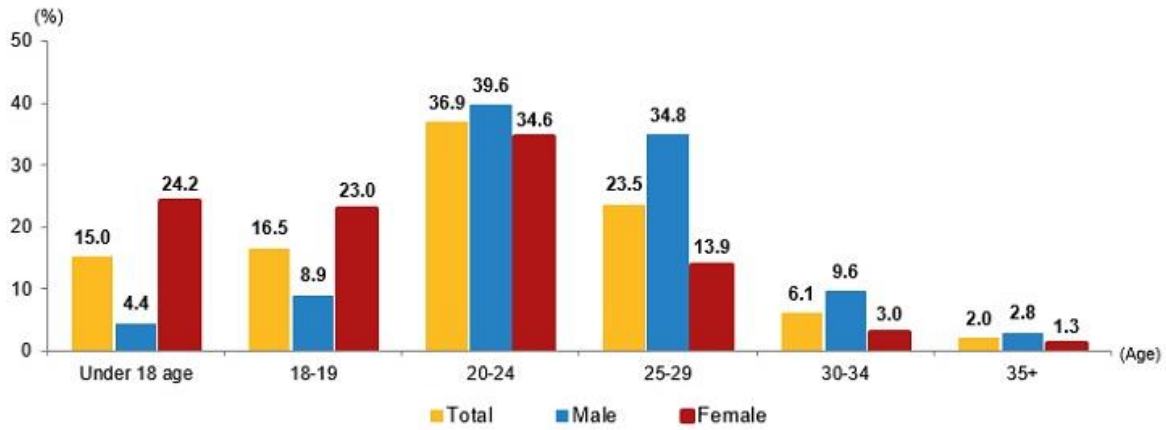


Diagram 2. Decision of marriage by sex, 2021 (*Türkiye Family Structure Survey..., 2022*)

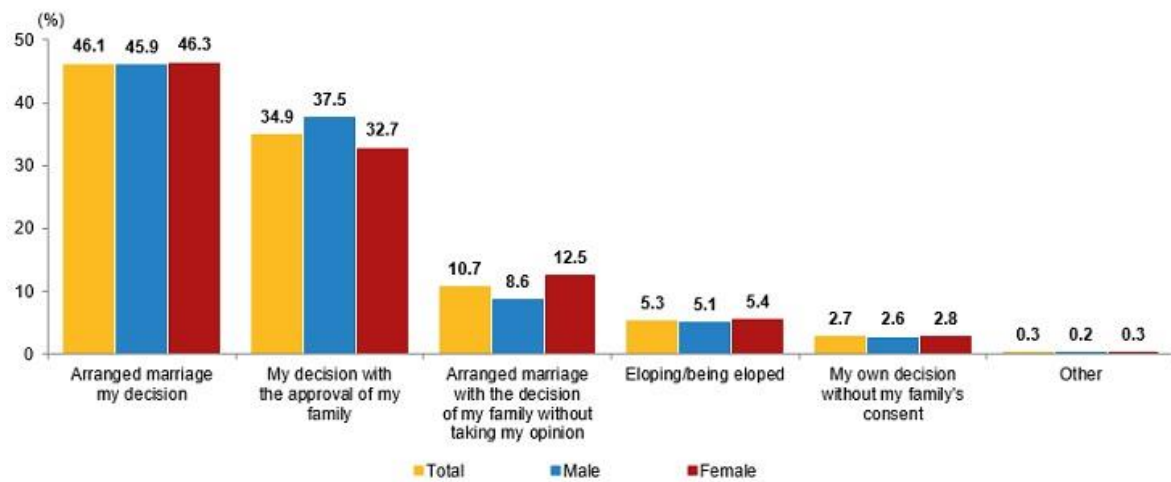


Diagram 3. Net enrolment rate by level of education and sex, 2020/'2. (*Youth in Statistics..., 2022*)

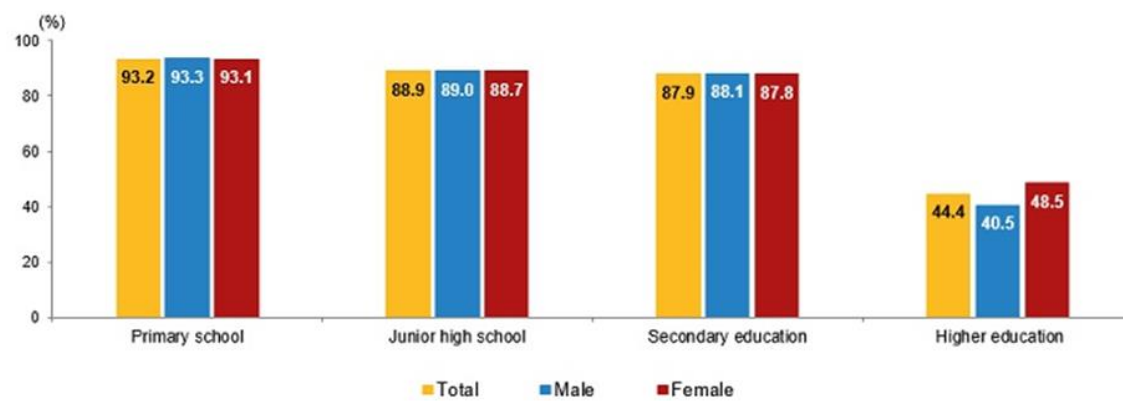


Diagram 4. Proportion of those who have completed at least one educational level by sex (%), 2008-2020. (*Women in Statistics...*, 2022).

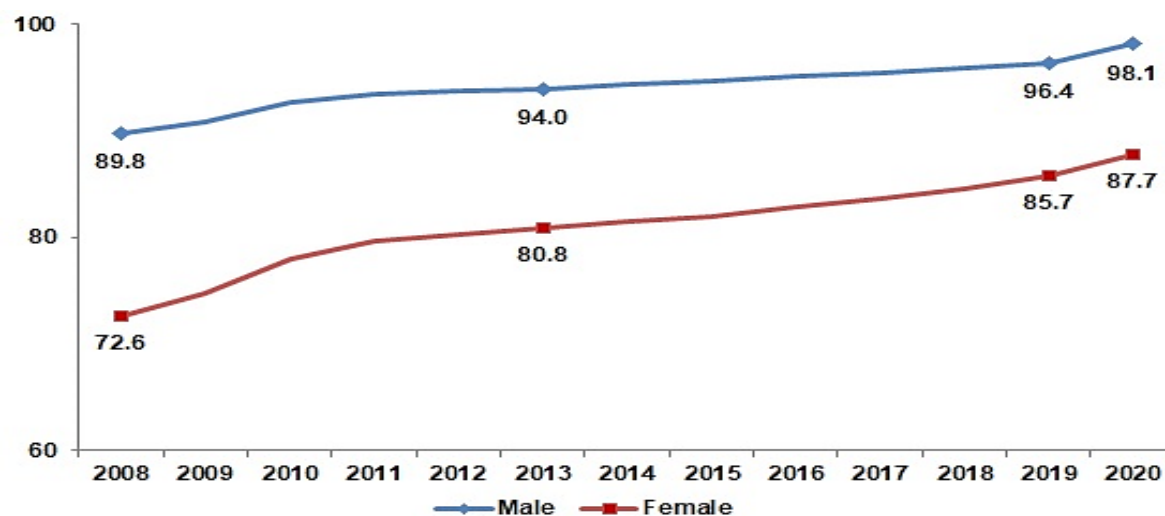
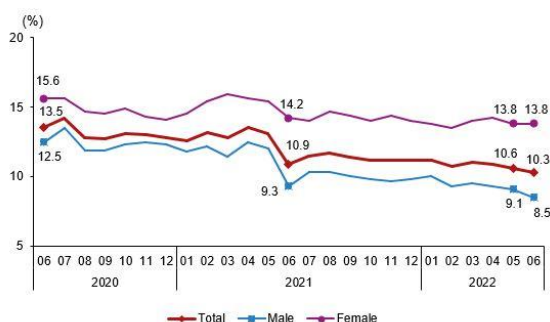


Diagram 5. Unemployment and Employment Rates (June 2020-June 2022). (*Labour Force Statistics, 2022*)

Unemployment rate, June 2020-June 2022



Employment rate, June 2020-June 2022

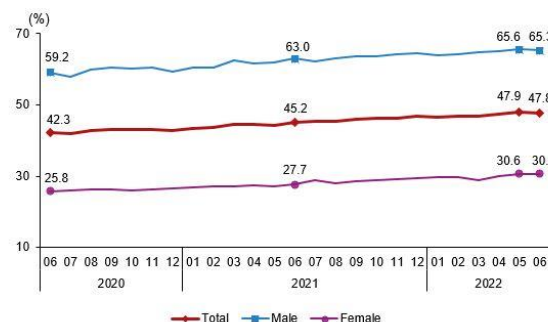


Table 1. Spouses at first marriages by age group, 2011-2021 (*Toplumsal Cinsiyet İstatistikleri...*, 2022)

| 5.1 Yaş grubuna göre ilk defa evlenenler, 2011-2021 | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Spouses at first marriages by age group, 2011-2021 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yaş grubu Age group | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 ^(r) | 2021 |
| Erkek-Male | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Toplam Total | 509 739 | 515 198 | 513 728 | 512 612 | 514 329 | 503 480 | 483 501 | 467 882 | 455 965 | 407 663 | 472 304 |
| 16-19 | 14 203 | 14 189 | 13 532 | 12 603 | 11 641 | 10 955 | 9 805 | 9 291 | 8 367 | 6 915 | 6 857 |
| 20-24 | 160 772 | 158 578 | 154 091 | 151 530 | 148 415 | 143 148 | 134 191 | 125 516 | 116 972 | 104 689 | 114 891 |
| 25-29 | 229 455 | 231 029 | 232 504 | 230 856 | 232 337 | 226 736 | 219 078 | 212 611 | 210 826 | 188 441 | 219 124 |
| 30-34 | 81 494 | 85 431 | 86 218 | 88 397 | 90 237 | 88 387 | 86 138 | 85 644 | 85 011 | 76 226 | 93 080 |
| 35-39 | 17 410 | 18 984 | 20 236 | 21 445 | 23 418 | 25 296 | 25 199 | 25 395 | 24 987 | 22 147 | 26 980 |
| 40-44 | 4 119 | 4 599 | 4 878 | 5 437 | 5 776 | 6 225 | 6 312 | 6 543 | 6 875 | 6 590 | 8 145 |
| 45-49 | 1 462 | 1 474 | 1 413 | 1 507 | 1 594 | 1 709 | 1 793 | 1 867 | 1 896 | 1 736 | 2 132 |
| 50+ | 824 | 914 | 855 | 837 | 911 | 1 024 | 985 | 1 015 | 1 031 | 919 | 1 095 |
| Bilinmeyen Unknown | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Kadın - Female | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Toplam Total | 514 423 | 520 069 | 516 635 | 513 238 | 512 234 | 497 722 | 477 408 | 459 812 | 447 055 | 399 237 | 462 317 |
| 16-19 | 130 129 | 128 550 | 122 537 | 115 660 | 107 665 | 98 933 | 88 739 | 81 647 | 71 177 | 58 413 | 57 770 |
| 20-24 | 207 432 | 208 275 | 205 595 | 205 527 | 205 720 | 200 386 | 192 214 | 184 144 | 177 698 | 160 508 | 182 111 |
| 25-29 | 123 432 | 125 961 | 131 141 | 133 205 | 138 994 | 138 728 | 138 829 | 137 528 | 142 053 | 129 855 | 160 090 |
| 30-34 | 35 940 | 38 309 | 38 076 | 38 564 | 38 498 | 37 408 | 35 852 | 35 267 | 35 505 | 32 153 | 41 078 |
| 35-39 | 10 860 | 11 436 | 11 729 | 12 101 | 12 979 | 13 884 | 13 151 | 12 728 | 12 032 | 10 309 | 11 976 |
| 40-44 | 3 700 | 4 234 | 4 493 | 4 947 | 5 094 | 5 018 | 5 164 | 4 867 | 4 921 | 4 595 | 5 293 |
| 45-49 | 1 819 | 1 956 | 1 798 | 1 871 | 1 866 | 1 922 | 2 037 | 2 185 | 2 198 | 2 053 | 2 328 |
| 50+ | 1 111 | 1 347 | 1 265 | 1 363 | 1 418 | 1 443 | 1 422 | 1 446 | 1 471 | 1 351 | 1 671 |
| Bilinmeyen Unknown | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| TÜİK, Toplumsal Cinsiyet İstatistikleri, 2021 | | | | | | TurkStat, Gender Statistics, 2021 | | | | | |
| Kaynak: Evlenme İstatistikleri, 2011-2021 | | | | | | Source: Marriage Statistics, 2011-2021 | | | | | |
| (r) Evlenme verileri güncel idari kayıtlarla revize edilmiştir. | | | | | | (r) Marriage data were revised with updated administrative records. | | | | | |
| - Bilgi yoktur. | | | | | | - Denotes magnitude null. | | | | | |

Table 2. Marriages by province and age group, 2021 (*Toplumsal Cinsiyet İstatistikleri..., 2022*)

Marriage

Evlenme

5.3 İllere ve yaş grubuna göre evlenenler, 2021

Marriages by province and age group, 2021

[Olay yerine göre-By the place of event]

| İl Province | Cinsiyet Sex | Toplam Total | Yaş grubu-Age group | | | | | | | | | | | | | Bilinmeyen Unknown | |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|---|
| | | | 16-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | 45-49 | 50-54 | 55-59 | 60-64 | 65-69 | 70-74 | 75+ | | |
| Toplam-Total | Erkek-Male | 561 710 | 6 920 | 116 610 | 226 899 | 107 109 | 43 014 | 23 128 | 13 008 | 8 433 | 6 443 | 4 189 | 2 943 | 1 642 | 1 372 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 561 710 | 59 661 | 191 966 | 177 690 | 60 262 | 29 517 | 18 631 | 11 098 | 6 069 | 3 723 | 1 818 | 830 | 322 | 120 | 3 | - |
| Adana | Erkek-Male | 15 573 | 175 | 3 354 | 6 059 | 3 023 | 1 185 | 647 | 368 | 226 | 218 | 147 | 103 | 35 | 33 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 15 573 | 1 783 | 5 420 | 4 631 | 1 693 | 808 | 563 | 291 | 173 | 115 | 57 | 28 | 8 | 2 | 1 | - |
| Adıyaman | Erkek-Male | 5 055 | 40 | 1 006 | 2 293 | 1 054 | 291 | 147 | 71 | 41 | 37 | 22 | 23 | 18 | 12 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 5 055 | 663 | 1 977 | 1 543 | 460 | 181 | 97 | 69 | 30 | 21 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | - |
| Afyonkarahisar | Erkek-Male | 5 267 | 133 | 1 739 | 1 940 | 719 | 303 | 145 | 83 | 61 | 62 | 27 | 26 | 14 | 15 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 5 267 | 887 | 2 185 | 1 278 | 378 | 199 | 141 | 93 | 52 | 30 | 13 | 5 | 6 | - | - | - |
| Ağrı | Erkek-Male | 3 833 | 58 | 1 258 | 1 719 | 550 | 131 | 41 | 28 | 13 | 18 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 2 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 3 833 | 1 320 | 1 508 | 699 | 175 | 58 | 33 | 19 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - |
| Amasya | Erkek-Male | 2 017 | 14 | 383 | 878 | 380 | 156 | 65 | 38 | 37 | 19 | 15 | 17 | 4 | 11 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 2 017 | 156 | 737 | 658 | 215 | 99 | 59 | 34 | 30 | 16 | 7 | 2 | 4 | - | - | - |
| Ankara | Erkek-Male | 34 770 | 231 | 5 699 | 14 309 | 7 310 | 2 969 | 1 670 | 873 | 631 | 464 | 277 | 176 | 90 | 71 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 34 770 | 2 174 | 10 272 | 12 673 | 4 586 | 2 135 | 1 252 | 748 | 443 | 274 | 125 | 61 | 19 | 7 | 1 | - |
| Antalya | Erkek-Male | 16 977 | 180 | 2 855 | 6 212 | 3 229 | 1 683 | 989 | 635 | 451 | 307 | 189 | 136 | 61 | 50 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 16 977 | 1 179 | 5 035 | 5 307 | 2 132 | 1 242 | 870 | 571 | 313 | 181 | 90 | 34 | 18 | 5 | - | - |
| Artvin | Erkek-Male | 953 | 8 | 92 | 370 | 244 | 109 | 52 | 28 | 20 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 4 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 953 | 47 | 238 | 396 | 132 | 56 | 31 | 25 | 11 | 11 | 4 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Aydın | Erkek-Male | 7 795 | 98 | 1 419 | 2 811 | 1 505 | 692 | 432 | 256 | 178 | 144 | 125 | 72 | 41 | 22 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 7 795 | 778 | 2 310 | 2 314 | 923 | 536 | 354 | 258 | 142 | 100 | 49 | 25 | 5 | 1 | - | - |
| Balıkesir | Erkek-Male | 8 129 | 128 | 1 561 | 3 155 | 1 464 | 598 | 397 | 251 | 180 | 144 | 110 | 75 | 30 | 36 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 8 129 | 742 | 2 661 | 2 499 | 874 | 460 | 336 | 220 | 152 | 95 | 53 | 25 | 8 | 4 | - | - |
| Bilecik | Erkek-Male | 1 357 | 12 | 269 | 559 | 268 | 101 | 60 | 24 | 29 | 16 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 2 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 1 357 | 98 | 521 | 430 | 138 | 66 | 46 | 32 | 14 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - |
| Bingöl | Erkek-Male | 1 823 | 15 | 313 | 777 | 423 | 148 | 60 | 29 | 16 | 18 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 5 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 1 823 | 185 | 662 | 597 | 206 | 69 | 45 | 38 | 11 | 2 | 7 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Bitlis | Erkek-Male | 2 421 | 23 | 642 | 1 117 | 445 | 108 | 38 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 1 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 2 421 | 594 | 1 010 | 577 | 145 | 48 | 22 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Bolu | Erkek-Male | 1 828 | 14 | 346 | 774 | 352 | 155 | 86 | 37 | 18 | 11 | 16 | 10 | 6 | 3 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 1 828 | 107 | 613 | 648 | 226 | 107 | 57 | 41 | 12 | 8 | 6 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Burdur | Erkek-Male | 1 770 | 30 | 406 | 710 | 274 | 130 | 77 | 43 | 34 | 18 | 19 | 13 | 9 | 7 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 1 770 | 224 | 652 | 496 | 156 | 86 | 64 | 38 | 21 | 18 | 10 | 3 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Bursa | Erkek-Male | 20 119 | 197 | 3 565 | 8 589 | 3 892 | 1 575 | 910 | 502 | 331 | 238 | 136 | 98 | 45 | 41 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 20 119 | 1 457 | 6 882 | 6 915 | 2 155 | 1 085 | 753 | 429 | 205 | 128 | 69 | 24 | 15 | 2 | - | - |
| Çanakkale | Erkek-Male | 3 367 | 46 | 533 | 1 256 | 701 | 308 | 170 | 104 | 99 | 59 | 48 | 24 | 16 | 3 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 3 367 | 261 | 1 010 | 1 098 | 397 | 213 | 165 | 104 | 59 | 30 | 18 | 11 | 1 | - | - | - |
| Çankırı | Erkek-Male | 1 069 | 12 | 307 | 423 | 167 | 53 | 35 | 23 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 6 | 5 | 6 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 1 069 | 135 | 455 | 292 | 67 | 41 | 31 | 18 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 2 | - | - | - |
| Çorum | Erkek-Male | 3 545 | 27 | 837 | 1 402 | 637 | 252 | 112 | 68 | 52 | 53 | 29 | 24 | 29 | 23 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 3 545 | 352 | 1 326 | 1 082 | 321 | 155 | 110 | 71 | 52 | 46 | 16 | 8 | 5 | 1 | - | - |
| Denizli | Erkek-Male | 7 538 | 92 | 1 463 | 2 951 | 1 401 | 667 | 370 | 190 | 130 | 110 | 60 | 56 | 23 | 25 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 7 538 | 658 | 2 505 | 2 402 | 826 | 432 | 323 | 167 | 98 | 59 | 47 | 17 | 4 | - | - | - |
| Dişarbakır | Erkek-Male | 11 714 | 229 | 3 064 | 4 782 | 2 313 | 688 | 270 | 119 | 63 | 84 | 32 | 36 | 19 | 15 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 11 714 | 1 918 | 4 442 | 3 313 | 1 171 | 443 | 221 | 117 | 45 | 29 | 7 | 7 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Edirne | Erkek-Male | 2 320 | 75 | 454 | 828 | 459 | 202 | 120 | 63 | 51 | 26 | 19 | 15 | 5 | 3 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 2 320 | 318 | 639 | 720 | 271 | 152 | 94 | 66 | 28 | 16 | 10 | 6 | - | - | - | - |
| Elazığ | Erkek-Male | 4 035 | 31 | 757 | 1 720 | 847 | 304 | 164 | 79 | 46 | 46 | 14 | 18 | 3 | 6 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 4 035 | 267 | 1 484 | 1 414 | 403 | 204 | 136 | 66 | 29 | 21 | 8 | - | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| Erzincan | Erkek-Male | 1 309 | 11 | 217 | 627 | 232 | 106 | 44 | 27 | 16 | 9 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 5 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 1 309 | 103 | 473 | 471 | 130 | 45 | 39 | 17 | 16 | 8 | 5 | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| Erzurum | Erkek-Male | 4 694 | 72 | 982 | 2 147 | 944 | 283 | 95 | 61 | 24 | 35 | 21 | 12 | 13 | 5 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 4 694 | 688 | 1 785 | 1 539 | 369 | 123 | 77 | 49 | 27 | 21 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| Eskişehir | Erkek-Male | 5 602 | 65 | 890 | 2 158 | 1 230 | 550 | 275 | 153 | 103 | 74 | 53 | 26 | 16 | 9 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 5 602 | 325 | 1 589 | 2 053 | 765 | 364 | 205 | 141 | 82 | 49 | 18 | 7 | 3 | 1 | - | - |
| Gaziantep | Erkek-Male | 16 823 | 242 | 5 500 | 6 690 | 2 370 | 820 | 422 | 233 | 147 | 137 | 100 | 77 | 51 | 34 | - | - |
| | Kadın-Female | 16 823 | 3 612 | 6 976 | 3 807 | 1 103 | 521 | 372 | 206 | 99 | 77 | 29 | 14 | 3 | 4 | - | - |

TÜİK, Toplumsal Cinsiyet İstatistikleri, 2021

Kaynak: TÜİK, Evlenme İstatistikleri, 2021

- Bilgi yoktur.

TurkStat, Gender Statistics, 2021

Source: TurkStat, Marriage Statistics, 2021

- Denotes magnitude null.

Table 3. The Literacy Rate in Turkey 2019 (*O'Neill, 2022*)

Turkey: Literacy rate from 2007 to 2019, total and by gender

| Characteristic | Adult total | Adult male | Adult female |
|----------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| 2019 | 96.74% | 99.08% | 94.42% |
| 2017 | 96.15% | 98.82% | 93.5% |
| 2016 | 96.17% | 98.78% | 93.56% |
| 2015 | 95.6% | 98.58% | 92.65% |
| 2014 | 95.44% | 98.5% | 92.4% |
| 2013 | 95.26% | 98.4% | 92.14% |
| 2012 | 94.92% | 98.26% | 91.6% |
| 2011 | 94.11% | 97.94% | 90.31% |
| 2010 | 92.66% | 97.3% | 88.07% |
| 2009 | 90.82% | 96.38% | 85.35% |
| 2007 | 88.66% | 96.2% | 81.26% |

Showing entries 1 to 11 (11 entries in total)

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Table 4. Illiterate Population (*Institute for Statistics, 2022*)

| | TOTAL | MALE | FEMALE | |
|------------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------|
| Illiterate population | | | | |
| 15-24 years | 12,599 | 2,473 | 10,126 | (2019) |
| 15 years and older | 2,088,846 | 284,914 | 1,803,932 | (2019) |

Table 5. Literacy Rate (*Institute for Statistics, 2022*)

| | TOTAL | MALE | FEMALE | |
|--------------------------|-------|------|--------|--------|
| Literacy rate (%) | | | | |
| 15-24 years | 99.9 | 100 | 99.8 | (2019) |
| 15 years and older | 96.7 | 99.1 | 94.4 | (2019) |
| 65 years and older | 83.1 | 94.6 | 74 | (2019) |

Table 6. Schools and Educational Institutions by Gender (*Education, Culture, Sport and Tourism, 2022*)

| 2021 | General Total | Illiterate | Literate without a diploma | Primary School | Primary Education | Lower Secondary School | Upper Secondary School | Universities and other higher educational Ins. | Master | Doctorate |
|--------|---------------|------------|----------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--|---------|-----------|
| Female | 37,877,223 | 1,593,893 | 4,305,606 | 9,610,023 | 2,232,443 | 6,204,007 | 7,248,883 | 5,550,811 | 638,869 | 96,774 |
| Male | 37,879,709 | 268,639 | 3,224,669 | 7,267,940 | 2,899,977 | 7,434,209 | 9,448,709 | 6,086,476 | 756,363 | 136,568 |

Figure 1. Monument Counter (*Şiddetten Ölen Kadınlar İçin Dijital Anıt, 2022*)

